Which Manifesto Best addresses the current Youth issues?

A Comparative Audit of Political Party Manifestos in relation to the National Youth Manifesto Priorities 2016-2021

December 2015

Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy in Uganda (YCED)
THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Dr. Kiiza Besigye - FDC
Dr. Abed Bwanika - PDP
Hon. Amama Mbabazi - Go Forward
Prof. Venansius Baryamureeba - Independent
Maj. Gen. Benon Biraaro - Farmers’ Party
Gen. Yoweri Museveni - NRM
Pr. Mabirizi Elton - Independent
Mrs. Kyaalya Maureen - Independent
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Process of NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Scope of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Presentation of Analysis findings per thematic area of the NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jobs! Jobs! Jobs! (More and Better Jobs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Health care for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Education for opportunities (More training than education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sports and creative arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Youth Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tables and Figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fig. 1 Overall ranking of Party/Candidates Manifestos in relation to the five NYM Priorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fig. 2 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Job Creation in relation to NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fig. 3 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Health Care in relation to NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fig. 4 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Education in relation to NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fig. 5 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Sports and Creative Arts in relation to NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fig. 6 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Youth Participation in relation to NYM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fig. 7. Key NYM issues against NRM promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fig. 8. Key NYM issues against FDC Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fig. 9 Key NYM issues against Amama Mbabazi Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fig. 10. Key NYM issues against PDP Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fig. 11. Key NYM issues against Prof. Baryamureeba Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fig. 12. Key NYM issues against Mr. Mabirizi Elton Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Fig. 13. Key NYM issues against Mrs. Moreen Kyalya Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASM</td>
<td>Advanced Sub-County Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTVET</td>
<td>Business Technical Vocational Education and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEWs</td>
<td>Community Health Extension Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP II</td>
<td>National Development Plan II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYM</td>
<td>National Resistance Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>Peoples Development Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACCOS</td>
<td>Savings and credit Cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USE</td>
<td>Universal Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>Value Added Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VHTs</td>
<td>Village Health Teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCED</td>
<td>Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The national Youth Manifesto (NYM) is a set of policy demands by young Ugandans calling on government to gear conditions that enable them to flourish and make the best possible contribution to development of the country. It is a set of priority demands that call on government to harness their full potential and to benefit from the available opportunities.

The National Youth Manifesto provides an opportunity to the country to adopt a youth-led development model and achieve the National Vision of “A transformed Ugandan society from a peasant to a modern and prosperous country within 30 Years”.

Process of developing the NYM

The National Youth Manifesto was developed following consultations across the country. Young Ugandans were consulted on key issues, the problems they are facing and the solutions that can make a difference. After gathering all the information, YCED analysed it, a validation meeting was organised to ensure that all the information gathered in consultative meetings is well captured. Thereafter the manifesto was launched on 15th/08/2015 at Makerere University during the National Youth Festival. This was followed by popularization of manifesto among political parties and across the country using a caravan and physical engagements with the different aspirants. A total of six political parties were engaged with the purpose of ensuring that they get an opportunity to take on the youth demands in their party manifestos. Those engaged include; NRM, FDC, JEEMA, CP, UFA, DP, PPP, TDA/Go Forward. Attempts to meet UPC did not materialise as at the time of these engagements there were two UPC factions.

Methodology

The analysis team reviewed all party manifestos available vis a vis the demands in the youth Manifesto. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed to score the performance of every political party on each demand. The qualitative approach was used to explain how different presidential candidates/ parties are proposing to address the key demands embedded in the youth manifesto while the quantitative analysis involved tallying of issues, ranking and use of tables, graphs and pie charts was to show...
comparison amongst parties, showing which one is putting more attention on youth issues. A score of 1 was given for each of the NYM demands directly mentioned in a particular party or candidates manifesto. This means that the more frequent the NYM issue was mentioned in a specific party manifesto, the higher the score. It should however be noted that whereas some of the manifestos had good and promising proposals, they did not score highly because of indirect mention of issues and frequency.

Scope of the Study

The study covered 7 manifestos/policy agendas for 7 presidential candidates in 2016 election namely, National Resistance Movement (NRM), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Go-forward, Prof. Baryamureeba, PDP and Maureen Kyalya. These manifestos address many issues, however, our emphasis was put on demands in the Youth Manifesto such as jobs, health care for all, education for opportunities, sports and creative arts and youth participation.
Youth unemployment and underemployment is one of the greatest challenges Uganda is grappling with. According to the national development plan II pg4, youth unemployment stands at 78% and yet there are many vacant positions in public service. According to Go-forward manifesto Pg 30, there are 32,746 unoccupied jobs in public service which if filled would reduce the existing level of unemployment.

In order to deal with youth unemployment, the candidates proposed the following;

**National Resistance Movement**

NRM promises to invest in training the youth to acquire skills required in the job market. Set up centers for re-tooling graduates so that they can become employable.

The NRM government promises to formalize the informal sector by giving certificates to people in the informal sector such as carpenters, welders, plumbers and mechanics through the Business, Technical, Vocational Education and Training (BTVET) programme among other promises.

NRM promises to institutionalize internships and apprenticeships, with the view to increase exposure of the up-coming labor (students) to work systems and practices.

**Forum For Democratic Change**

The FDC manifesto proposes to provide investment incentives in priority sectors that employ the Ugandan youth and those willing to offer apprenticeships to facilitate experience, (page 40) promoting a uniform approach of youth and women development by all agencies of the state, the civil society and the private sector, and supporting interventions aimed at creating new, decent and well-paying jobs and promoting economic freedom for youth and women in our society.(policy agenda)
FDC further promises to reduce youth unemployment through agricultural initiated programs, introduction of compulsory universal vocational trainings through colleges and existing tertiary institutions for special certificates and diploma with practical relevant skills. FDC also promises to provide incentives in priority sectors that employ the Ugandan youth and those willing to offer an apprenticeship to facilitate experience.

Go-forward:

Go-forward promises to Institute a review on the ban of recruitment by Ministry of Public Service to fill and re-organise priorities to finance the full wage bill and vacant posts. Amama Mbabazi further promises to establish a Volunteer Graduate Program, that will engage all fresh graduates who wish to join, will support this unique transformative program and to re-establish co-operatives all over the country. (page 30-34). Additionally, Go forward promises to create 4.5 million jobs over 4 years and highlights key areas and measures that will ensure these jobs are in place. (ASM, Private sector led job creation through incentives)

Prof. Baryamureeba

Prof. Baryamureeba proposes to deal with youth unemployment by providing incentives to companies that offer apprenticeships to enable graduates acquire work experience, a favourable regulatory environment and reforming the tax system to support new players in job creation.

Maureen F.Kyalya Waluube in her presidential manifesto promises to;

Ensure PWDs and other disadvantaged groups access to employment, reducing national brain drain by providing employment, favoured investment opportunity and fair wages to retain the Ugandan work force.

Eng. Elton Mabirizi

Eng. Elton Mabirizi promises to enact a Minimum Wage Act to regulate both public and private labour force, launch National Service Program to empower the future generation with social responsibility and also to establish a database of Ugandans outside Uganda to strengthen our contact with the Diaspora, provide a resource base for their Integration into National Development and reestablish cooperatives as the best means to produce and market Uganda’s produce.

The PDP

On the demand of jobs, the PDP suggests that the agriculture sector is the major sector that can directly provide jobs to the youth and the Peoples’ Development Party promises to put in 15% of the national budget into agriculture and it also promises to put in place the National Agricultural Bank so that the farmers can access loans from a bank that understands their language. Currently the bank system that we have in Uganda, these are commercial banks, merchant banks; their dynamics are very different from farmers dynamic.
Health care for all

Health care is a fundamental human right and everyone deserves better health care service to be productive in order to achieve Uganda’s Vision 2040. The youth demand for increased availability, access to and uptake of quality and affordable health care services for all young people through passing the National Health Insurance Bill, youth friendly services, catering for unique needs of young people, 5% of the annual health budget for youth corners in health centres, increase access to sexual and reproductive health services and putting in place measures to prevent drug and substance abuse.

NRM proposes to continue protecting the rights of women and girls through provision of services and programmes to promote maternal health, end child marriage and teenage pregnancy. In addition, tackle the stagnating prevalence of HIV/AIDS among women and girls and implement a National Policy and Action Plan to eliminate Gender Based Violence (GBV) and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The policy will guide all actors on provision of services to GBV survivors and actions to reduce incidences of GBV at family, community and institutional levels.

Forum For Democratic Change

FDC promises to spearhead the establishment of a market-based and socially responsive health insurance scheme to ensure coverage for all citizens who do not have insurance from private health service providers or work-based insurance schemes. Particular attention will be given to the special needs of women and the girl child and also promotion of accessible and quality affordable health care services for young people (page 35).
FDC will review and streamline the health worker training curriculum to equip them with skills and knowledge on delivering client-friendly health information to all adolescents and young people including those with disability. (Page 35)

**Go-foward:**

A Go-forward government would provide a well-equipped, stocked and staffed health insurance facility Safer Childbirth and Pre- and Ante-Natal Care. They would also establish Affordable Health Insurance for All based on the principle of equity, social solidarity, community ownership and democratic control.

**Prof. Baryamureeba**

Investing in the national health system that includes rehabilitating national and regional referral hospitals.

**Eng. Elton Mabirizi**

On health, Eng. Mabirizi promises to enact a health insurance act that requires all employers and employees both in the private and public sector to contribute to health insurance, according to Elton Mabirizi, his government would also provide free birth control remedies to all mothers and women and ensure unrestricted access to maternal health facilities throughout country.
Education for Opportunities (More Training Than Education)

The education system of Uganda has been criticized for not addressing the current needs of Uganda thus increasing the unemployment level in the country. The youth are demanding for a skilled, talented and competitive work force through quality education.

National Resistance Movement

The NRM government promises to continue with the programme of establishing technical and vocational institutes in each constituency but initially starting with districts. So far 70 districts have benefitted from the programme and 32 will be covered. In addition the government will also continue to rehabilitate and equip BTVET institutions.

Go-forward:

Go-forward promises to introduce and implement integrated technical and vocational training programmes in Teacher Training Colleges in order to facilitate the same in all government-aided secondary schools.

Go-forward promises to increase funding for business, technical and vocational education institutes to allow them to pay their instructors more and acquire the necessary educational aids and other materials, and also to invest in increasing internships and other opportunities for industrial training.

Forum For Democratic Change

The FDC Government promises to adopt policies and measures that dramatically and systematically transform our Nation’s education system to create the next generation of quality human capital needed to engineer Uganda’s leap forward agenda (page 44).

The FDC promises that it will commit to establishing teacher remuneration and compensation systems that give back honour to our teachers, build their pride and reward them for the sacrifices they make in the classroom every day. FDC also promises that teachers who offer great service will receive free houses alongside other workers and their salary will be raised from the current 400,000= to a minimum of 650,000= in the first year of our government.
Mrs. Kyalya Moreen

On Education Mrs. Kyalya Moreen promises to restore national talent by providing free education to qualifying students at Makerere University.

The PDP party

In the education sector, the PDP party promises to increase budgetary allocation to the sector to 20% of the national budget for the next 5 years and Abed Bwanika suggests that it will provide school uniform including shoes and also avail laptops per student from primary four. (PDP party manifesto extract 3)

The PDP party also promises to establish a National Service Programme for all students before joining College and Universities and that this empowerment will help the next generation to develop a sense of social responsibility to understand and love Uganda (PDP manifesto extract 1)

Eng. Elton Mabirizi

Mabirizi on the other hand proposes to review the teachers’ salaries within the entire salary structure review of public service, he promised to increase the health budget, Elton Mabirizi also Proposed to Increase the budgetary allocation to education by 3% per annum until we attain a level 20% of the national budget and construct more class rooms to reduce students class room ratio.
Sports and creative arts is a lucrative sector and many countries have developed because of nurturing the talents of their nationals and offering them all the necessary financial, legal and infrastructural support. This can empower the youth develop their talents and contribute to job creation thus dealing with ever increasing unemployment in Uganda. The young people demanded the following:

Establish community sports recreation centres to harness talent, Review the structure of major sports in consultation with key stakeholders to develop a comprehensive plan of action to revitalize the sector, Gazette land for sports facilities and establish sports complexes at regional level and revamp district stadia that have fallen into disuse, Provide tax incentives to the private sector to encourage investment in sports.

In order to develop talents of the youth, the political parties and candidates made the following promises:

National Resistance Movement

NRM promised among others, to continue supporting the establishment of regional cultural centers and museums, support the redevelopment of the National Theatre and the National Museum to international standards and Strengthen early talent identification and nurturing in their next government.

Go-forward:

The Go-forward manifesto highlighted the need to redesign and Upgrade the National Museum and National Theatre to international standards and enforcement of the Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights Law.

Professor Baryamureeba

Professor Baryamureeba emphasizes developing and promoting sports as a business at local, regional and national levels by providing support to the sports clubs and teams, and developing and maintaining sports facilities across the country.
Forum For Democratic Change

FDC proposes the promotion of sports, arts and culture as a strategy to raise awareness on the economic value within the women and youth fraternity. It promises to build a training sports facility/stadium for each region to promote talent (Policy Agenda), to construct and re-construct regional standard stadiums. For instance Nakivubo stadium will be re-constructed and improved as a modern stadium from its current poor state (page 42)

Eng. Elton Mabirizi

To address this Mr. Elton promises that his government will Promote Uganda as an entertainment destination by developing the entertainment and leisure industry, strengthen the existing copyright legislation and its implementation to provide greater protection and compliance
Youth Participation

Youth Participation is the fifth thematic area in the youth manifesto. Youth are demanding for active and meaningful participation in the development of government policies and programmes.

To increase their participation, they demand recruitment of Youth Engagement Officers in Ministries, Departments and Agencies to facilitate integration, mainstreaming and a multi sectoral approach. They demand for an increase in budget allocations to youth activities at a district level i.e. at least 5% of the local revenue and at least 5% of the unconditional grants from the central government. They demand the reinvigoration of the existing student’s movement (UNSA) to enable the students community meaningfully participate in and influence decision making processes. They also demand the establishment of an independent Youth & Sports Ministry.

National Resistance Movement

NRM promises to consolidate youth participation in decision-making and governance at various levels and to continue supporting and encouraging participation of youth in decision making to ensure development of inclusive democracy in the country.

On the other hand, the Go-forward recognized that youth are legally denied their right to contest on the basis of age for positions of LC5 Chairperson, municipality or city mayor, LC3 chairperson and even to be their deputy and promises to review existing legislation to deal with the barriers for youth to contest for all Elective Positions.

Forum for Democratic Change

FDC promises encouraging patriotic participation and meaningful inclusion of all male and female youth in the affairs of the State in a way that empowers them to build social capital and progressive social networks.

FDC also promises to increase budgetary allocations to youth activities through the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development to enable it implement programmes towards enhancing gender equality and also implementing youth income programs and project activities (page41)
FDC pledges to always seek the views from young people on policy and legislation that concerns them, unlike the incumbent majority NRM legislators that passed an amendment of increasing parliamentary nomination fees from 200,000= to 3millions without consulting people they represent.(page 41). It further promises to increase young men and women, and youth in particular for their participation in political leadership as well as lowering age to contest for LCV seats and harmonise the age for contesting for other political positions.(page 41)

Conclusion

In conclusion, the youth manifesto was published by YCED to ensure that key issues affecting young people are known to political leaders and youth actors at all levels such that youth empowered to make their leader accountable. The coalition later engaged all the political parties to inform them of the youth demands and urged parties to integrate the issues raised in their party manifestos. The analysis has been conducted to establish empirically how various parties propose to address youth issues if voted in office. It is important to note that most of the demands were adopted by the candidates whose manifestos were accessed by the forum. From the analysis, it was found out that of the five demands, education took a focal point in all manifestos. This was followed by jobs, health care and little attention was put on youth participation.

The NYM should therefore be viewed as a non partisan agenda highlighting aspirants of young ugandan and as such we urge the different MDAs and other development actors to take it as a document that can inform planning, budgeting and implementation of government and non government programes and projects for Uganda to reap from the demographic dividend.
### Analysis (Frequency in relation to NYM demands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NYM Priority Themes</th>
<th>No. of NYM demands</th>
<th>NRM</th>
<th>FDC</th>
<th>Amama Mbabazi</th>
<th>PDP</th>
<th>Prof. Barya</th>
<th>Mr. Mabirizi</th>
<th>Mrs. Kyalya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jobs Jobs Jobs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Health Care for All</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education for opportunities</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sports &amp; Creative Arts</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Youth Participation in Decision Making</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 1 Overall ranking of Party/Candidates Manifestos in relation to the five NYM Priorities**

![Graph showing overall ranking of Party/Candidates Manifestos in relation to the five NYM Priorities](NYM Audit Report 13)
Fig. 2 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Job Creation in relation to NYM

![Graph showing job creation rankings for different candidates.]

Fig. 3 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Health Care in relation to NYM

![Graph showing health care rankings for different candidates.]

NYM Audit Report
Fig. 4 Ranking of Party/Candidates' manifestos on Education in relation to NYM

![Education for opportunities](chart)

Fig. 5 Ranking of Party/Candidates' manifestos on Sports and Creative Arts in relation to NYM

![Sports & Creative Arts](chart)
Fig. 6 Ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Youth Participation in relation to NYM

![Bar chart showing ranking of Party/Candidates manifestos on Youth Participation in relation to NYM.]

Fig. 7. Key NYM issues against NRM promises

![Bar chart showing key NYM issues against NRM promises.]

NYM Audit Report
Fig. 8. Key NYM issues against FDC Promises

Fig. 9 Key NYM issues against Amama Mbabazi Promises
Fig. 10. Key NYM issues against PDP Promises

Fig. 11. Key NYM issues against Prof. Baryamureeba Promises
Fig. 12. Key NYM issues against Mr. Mabirizi Elton Promises

Fig. 13. Key NYM issues against Mrs. Moreen Kyalya Promises
REFERENCES


National Resistance Movement 2015 steady progress taking Uganda to modernity through job creation and inclusive development manifesto 2016-2021

The forum for democratic change policy agenda 2015 Uganda leap forward

The Forum for Democratic Change Manifesto 2016-2021, we are focused on liberation, restructuring state institutions and inclusive development.

Go-Forward TDA (U) a Uganda that works for everyone manifesto 2016-2021.


The People Development Party (PDP) Manifesto 2016-2021

Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy 2015 a social contract with young Ugandans, the national youth manifesto 2016-2021
About the Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy (YCED)

YCED is a broad coalition spearheaded by youth like-minded civil society organization united to in the desire to create synergy in various electoral democracy efforts currently being undertaken throughout the country. Launched on August 19th, 2014, the Youth Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda (YCED) is a broad coalition that brings together like-minded youth led and youth focused civil society organizations and individuals to advocate for meaningful youth participation towards electoral democracy in Uganda. The overriding agenda of this coalition is to advocate and promote integrity, transparency and active youth participation in Uganda’s 2016 electoral process and beyond.

The core membership of the Coalition include; UPFYA, IYOP, AYDL, YLF, GPAU, NUDIPU Youth, UYONET, RDP Uganda, and their subsidiary constituencies of membership and partners spread across the different regions and districts of Uganda.

In the run up to the formation of YCED, several consultations were held with both state and non-state actors representing a range of constituencies and disciplines, including youth from NGOs, civic associations, government, Political parties, students groups and development partners. A key outcome from these consultations was a desire to see youth civil society actors play a more front line role in mobilizing youth to make demands and participate in efforts aimed at realizing an electoral process in Uganda that is respected by youth and has legitimacy.